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stored. I beg the favor of a line, delivered to my friend Captain Bradford, who will forward it by a safe conveyance. I greatly value your judgment. You know I may be trusted.

I am, very respectfully, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL DEXTER.

The Hon. Mr. BOWDOIN.

DECEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, Dec. 11, at twelve o'clock, M.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Bowdoin College; the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York; the Cincinnati Astronomical Society; the Essex Institute; the Society of Antiquaries of London; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; Messrs. Adams, Sampson, and Co.; George Clasbock, Esq.; Rev. Benjamin Dorr, D.D.; William B. Shedd, Esq.; Rev. E. M. P. Wells, D.D.; and from Messrs. Barry, Brigham, Deane, Green, Robbins (C.), Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated a letter from E. H. Talbot, Esq.; which was referred to the Standing Committee.

The President communicated, on behalf of the family and kindred of the late M. Jomard of France, a printed copy of the last communication made by that distinguished *savant* to the Society of Ethnography: where-

upon it was unanimously *voted*, That the President be requested gratefully to acknowledge this mark of attention from the kindred and relations of their late honored foreign associate.

On motion of Mr. PAIGE, *voted*, That the Standing Committee be requested to consider the propriety of placing copies of the Society's publications in the library of Tufts College.

Mr. C. BROOKS gave an account of the discovery of several skeletons and other remains of North-American Indians, recently exhumed in Medford, Mass.

*Indian Necropolis in West Medford, Mass.; discovered
Oct. 21, 1862.*

On the farm of Edward Brooks, Esq., in West Medford, Mass., some laborers were moving with an ox-shovel the top soil of land situated about fifteen rods south-west from Mr. Brooks's house, and a short distance south-east from Mystic Pond. After removing about two and a half feet of the earth, the shovel uncovered a human skeleton. Intelligent care was immediately taken by Mr. Francis Brooks, the present occupant of the estate, to secure every bone and whatever was buried with the individual. The skeleton was that of a man lying on his left side, in a horizontal position, the head towards the west, and the knees as near the chin as they could be. The teeth indicate the age of sixty, judging by our Anglo-Saxon types; his height, about five feet eight inches. The bones are in good preservation. Mr. Brooks took them immediately to Professor Agassiz, who has put them together, and deposited them, as a precious specimen, in his wonderful museum of comparative anatomy.

Of the many things buried with the individual, there was found his soap-stone pipe, whose bowl is two inches long, and

three-quarters of an inch wide at its mouth. The stone stem, being of one piece with the bowl, is two and a half inches long; and the copper end, or mouth-piece, three inches long; making its whole length about five and a half inches. The copper is about as thick as a man's thumb-nail, and was beaten or rolled out with great evenness, and then soldered in the position it now occupies. Near the pipe were found the iron head of an arrow, and a stone knife and some hair, matted together. This hair has the length and color of deer's hair; and it may have belonged to his pouch, in which was a substance that now resembles tobacco, and, when burned, revealed its fierce identity in its smoke.

Five skeletons were taken out: one is that of a child. Four were found near together: the other was three or four rods distant. More will probably be found. The teeth in some are so irregularly worn, as to lead us to suppose they had some peculiarly hard work to do.

Within the present century, farmers in Medford have ploughed up stone arrowheads, stone drills, and other Indian articles.

The renowned sachem of the Pawtuckets, *Nanepashemit*, removed from Lynn in 1615, and took up his residence on the bank of Mystic River, where he was killed in 1619. His house was placed on Rock Hill, where he could best watch canoes on the river. Winslow, who visited his burial-place, gives an account of it. The spot could not have been far from the place where these bones have been disinterred; and it may be that the skeleton above mentioned was his. The copper mouth-piece of his pipe must have been too costly for any but a chief; since copper was the only metal worked by Indians in the sixteenth century. The iron was obtained about this time from navigators.

The land from which these bones were taken was purchased in 1660 by Thomas Brooks, who came to New England in 1630. His farm of four hundred acres has been kept in the

families of his descendants in unbroken succession to the present time, with no prospect of a change of owners. No record or tradition of the burial of Indians in our lands exists in our family; and it is therefore concluded, that these bones are those of Indians that have been buried more than two hundred years.

The bones themselves are of the true Indian type, corresponding with those of the pure races now living; and they prove conclusively the great truth, that God has held through all history, and will continue to hold, inviolable, the grand distinctive types of his own creation.

Mr. WILLARD read a paper on the subject of a plan for the general arrangement of the militia of the United States, by General Knox.

A Plan for the General Arrangement of the Militia of the United States. By General Knox.

When the Abbé de Mably seriously entertained the design of writing the history of the American Revolution, and applied to John Adams for any facts or memorials that he could furnish, Mr. Adams set forth in formidable array numerous heads and materials for the proposed undertaking; and expressed so strongly the opinion, that no one, either in Europe or America, was in a condition at that time to write the history, or was possessed of the requisite stores of knowledge, that the Abbé must at once, we should suppose, have been deterred from the great undertaking.

After describing the very abundant though scattered sources of information, to be collected and digested, existing in the charters, commissions, and instructions to governors in the thirteen Colonies; their great bodies of statute-law; their records of legislation; the Plantation-office in London; the offices of the Secretaries of State in the thirteen

Colonies; the public debates; newspapers, printed volumes, both American and European; foreign and domestic correspondence; the records of the town of Boston, of the Committee of Correspondence, of the Massachusetts House of Representatives and Council; the public journals, especially those of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia; the pamphlets and gazettes of all the Colonies; the journals of Congress, portions of which are still secret; the new constitutions of the several States; the "Annual Register and Remembrancer;" French and English newspapers, with the Dutch; the correspondence of General Washington with Congress, not published (and no one can write a history of the Revolution till that vast treasure-house is laid open and explored); to say nothing of the offices of the secret committees, those of commerce and foreign affairs, of the treasury, marine, and war; correspondence with our ministers, &c., much still secret; and, joined to all these, the contemporaneous history of the European States, — he added, this "is a work for the longest life, beginning at the age of twenty."

Mr. Adams closes by giving the key to this whole history. There is a general analogy, indeed, in the governments and characters of the thirteen States; but it was not till the debates and the war commenced in Massachusetts Bay, — the principal Province of New England, — that the primitive institutions produced their first effect. Four of these institutions must be thoroughly studied and fully examined by any one who would write understandingly upon the subject; for those institutions have had a decided effect, not only in the first determination of debates in the public councils and the earliest resolutions of forcible resistance, but also in the influence they had upon the other Colonies in furnishing an example for the adoption, more or less, of the same institutions and similar measures. These four institutions are, — first, the towns; second, the churches; third, the schools; and fourth, the militia.

The towns in New England, one with another, are six miles, or two leagues, in extent. The inhabitants are, by law, corporations, or bodies politic, and are invested with certain powers and privileges, — as the repairs of the highways, the support of the poor, the choice of the various town-officers and of representatives to the Legislature, — and with the right of assembling, whenever called together by their officers, to deliberate upon town-affairs, and instruct their representatives. Thus all the inhabitants have acquired, from their infancy, familiarity in discussing, deliberating upon, and judging public affairs. It is in the towns that the sentiments of the people have been first formed, and their resolutions taken, from the beginning to the end of the debates and the war.

The churches are religious societies comprehending the entire people. Each town has one parish and one church. Some few towns have several churches. The minister is supported at public expense. The clergy have but little influence or authority, save what is derived from their personal piety, virtue, and intelligence. They are chosen by the people of their parish, and are ordained by the neighboring clergy. They are all married, and have families, and live with their parishioners on terms of entire intimacy. They attend at funerals and marriages, visit the sick, exercise charity towards the poor, preach twice every Sunday. The least moral stain would destroy their influence, and injure them for all time. They are a wise, virtuous, and pious class. They are jealous friends of liberty.

Schools are established by law in every town. Every town of sixty inhabitants is obliged, under a penalty, to support a school for reading, writing, arithmetic, and the rudiments of the Latin and Greek languages. There are prepared the students for the colleges, which in turn supply the professions and the officers for the government of the country.

The militia comprehend the whole people. Every male

citizen between the ages of sixteen and sixty is enrolled in a company and regiment of the militia. He is obliged to possess, and keep in order, at his own expense, a musket and equipments, with powder and ball, a cartridge-box and haversack, and to be ready at any moment to march for the defence of his country. The regiments are assembled each year for inspection and manœuvres.

Here, sir, you have a slight sketch of that wisdom in council, and that skill and military bravery, which have produced the American Revolution; and which I hope will be sacredly preserved as the foundation of the liberty, happiness, and prosperity of the people.

The Abbé de Mably at this time was seventy-three years old. But though still very vigorous in intellect, and deeply versed in European and general history, he must have shrunk from the entertainment set before him by Mr. Adams. His death, three years afterwards, must have put an end to his purpose of writing a history of the American Revolution, even if it had not been extinguished by Mr. Adams's letter.

Our business is with the militia, which Mr. Adams places among the four great institutions of New England: and not without reason; for in all former time, even from the beginning, it had played a most important part in our system, and was considered, in its department, on an equality with the church and the school.

The organization of the Colonial militia, strictness of discipline, frequency of parades, and careful designation of military titles, all held an important place in the public estimate. With a few exceptions, this arm of service embraced the whole community of competent age. The public necessity that at first required the citizen, to be armed and arranged in train-bands, equally as in any other Commonwealth, continued through the numerous Indian and French wars, and rumors of war, down to the Revolution; so that the whole

people became a constant array of comparatively disciplined soldiers, ready at any moment to answer a summons to the field. And throughout the Revolution, with whatever defects the militia contained, they were a great reliance in support of the contest: beginning with the first shedding of blood on the 19th of April; thence through the well-fought day at Bunker Hill, then the only military force in the country; thence in the campaign against Burgoyne; and so, and onward, through the hundreds of other instances, when they were called to the rescue, they performed services neither to be weighed nor estimated. Again: when in our own beloved Commonwealth, in 1786, the great fountains of the deep seemed to be breaking up, and confusion and anarchy to be taking the place of social order and good government, and when portions of our people, under a temporary delusion and the arts of some designing leaders, had forfeited their loyalty, and joined in the Rebellion, the militia of the healthy districts of the State was the sole dependence, as a military body, to restore law and order. Elsewhere, in subsequent trouble, they have been our safeguard and defence, until the present stupendous Rebellion, involving whole States in its deep infamy.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, a provision for a peace establishment of some kind was a prominent subject of consideration with Congress. The views of General Washington were solicited; and he, as was his wont, sought the opinions of his principal officers. General Knox and Colonel Pickering embraced in their opinions the subject of one or more military academies, the thought of which had been much and early in the mind of Knox; as the expression of that thought is the earliest I find upon record. Nor did his ardor cool, or his interest abate, with the return of peace,—a time when the anti-military fever, and the dread of a standing army, however small, seems to have gained a new access. Nothing looking to that end could be entertained for a moment. The militia was considered sufficient for any and

every venture. Within the scope of public view, there could be no exigency when they would not be adequate to the national defence. General Knox, in a great measure, shared in the opinion of the day ; but then it was with the idea of a militia born out of the Revolution, subjected to strict and compulsory military discipline, insuring its efficiency, and from which, surrounded with guards and accompanied with inducements, there would be neither wish nor opportunity to escape.

A hardy militia of freemen, in his opinion, must be the great security of the United States. In such a body, the ideas of freedom and a generous love of their country would be inherent. They would form the advanced guard for the protection of the country ; and being subjected to the discipline of regular troops, when required by a continuance of hostilities to buckle on their harness and go into the field, they would constitute an effective force for any exigency. To this end, the States should, without delay, take care for the best organization of their militia under one and the same system, to be established by Congress, including the formation of battalions and uniform equipments. One-third of the militia should be in camp from twelve to twenty days, annually, under the most exact military instruction in the principles of war, at the expense of their respective States in all their furnishings, and should be paid for their time while encamped. "Every method," he adds, "should be devised to make the profession of arms honorable ; for which reason, it would be necessary for the first men of the community to attend exhibitions of war, either as officers, soldiers, or spectators. To an enlightened people, arguments are unnecessary to enforce a truth so obvious. This is the moment to form habits which shall give a lustre to the American character. The people universally should be furnished with arms, and know how to use them ;" and so each State should have an arsenal sufficiently furnished with ammunition, camp-equipage, and field-ordnance.

In addition to this militia of the States, the Government of the Confederacy — for it must be remembered that we were then merely a Confederacy, an ill-jointed union of States, with no National Government supreme in its own department, and no power in Congress to deal with the people of the States, but only with the States themselves, by way of recommendation — should make provisions for the garrisons of the harbors, and the defence of our widely extended frontiers. West Point, so important, even vital, to the Union during the war, and justly considered as the “key of the Union,” is equally important for its preservation. The larger military stores and magazines should be continued at that post, with three companies of artillery, one of sappers and miners, and one or two infantry battalions to guard them.

This is the substance of General Knox’s views; an outline of such a peace establishment as would suffice for the defence of the country. He evidently believed not in the halcyon days of perpetual peace. War must come in the cycle of the seasons, as sure, if not as frequent; and there can be no safety in a rising State, and with peoples of like passions with ourselves, but in wise preparation to meet it. He insists upon “a perfect knowledge of the principles of war by land and sea,” to be acquired under accomplished professors in military academies, to “form the people either for the State or the field.” Washington, in his circular-letter to the governors,* was very earnest, and dwelt upon the subject as one of the first importance.†

* June 7, 1783.

† In two branches, he felt this very keenly in the threatened war with France, 1798–9. “It is deeply to be lamented,” he says, “that a very precious period of leisure was not improved towards forming among ourselves engineers and artillerists; and that, owing to this neglect, we are in danger of being overtaken by war, without competent characters of these descriptions. To form them suddenly is impossible. Much previous study and experiment are essential. If possible to avoid it, war ought not to find us wholly unprovided.” — *Sparks’s Washington*, xi. 371.

At this time, it was the manifest desire of the country to diminish the remaining portion of the regular army to a mere speck; and, early in 1784, it was reduced to a regiment of infantry of five hundred men, and one hundred and twenty artillery, with their officers:* a force barely sufficient to do guard-duty over the numerous and valuable stores, and keep the works in repair, at West Point and Pittsburg.*

In June, 1784, Colonel Monroe, afterwards President of the United States, anxious "that we should not thoroughly disarm ourselves," as he expresses it, "and leave the military affairs of the Union afloat,"† proposed in Congress that General Knox should retain three hundred and fifty men in service, to take possession of the Western posts when they should be surrendered by the British troops; and that seven hundred men be raised for three years, for the relief of those thus retained for the protection of the frontiers, &c. This proposition was finally lost, and the army of the Revolution substantially dissolved, by directing the commanding officer "to discharge the troops now in the service of the United States, except twenty-five privates to guard the stores at Fort Pitt,‡ and fifty-five to guard the stores at West Point § and other magazines, with an appropriate number of officers; no officer to remain in service above the rank of captain, and those privates to be retained who were enlisted on the best terms:" so suicidal had become the policy of the country. On June 3, Mr. Monroe's proposition was brought up in another form; for it would not answer to leave the Western settlers to the tender mercies of the British troops and their savage allies. Still objections and difficulties were encountered; and it succeeded at length only in the following modified form: viz., to recommend to the States of

* Journals of Congress.

† Letter to General Knox.

‡ Under Captain Doughty, who served under Knox in the Revolution, and was a valuable officer. Knox had a very affectionate regard for him.

§ Commanded by Major Bauman, who also was under Knox in the Revolution.

Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, being the States most conveniently situated, to furnish forthwith seven hundred men from their militia, to serve for twelve months, unless sooner discharged; and to be formed by the Secretary of War into one regiment of eight companies of infantry, and two of artillery; the staff and commissioned officers to be furnished by the several States. So the idea of a peace establishment, with this slight and temporary exception, was fast becoming obsolete, until quickened into new life by the apprehension of Indian hostilities. The martial spirit of the country was also fading away under the delusive idea of perpetual peace. The country was poor; the question of impost still hung in the balance; the means for carrying on the Government, and paying the public creditors, were yet to be provided through the Legislatures of many reluctant States; while the General Congress was wholly powerless. The country, I say, was poor. A long war had exhausted its resources, sweeping off the property of tens of thousands, and leaving but little in the rest of the community, save among speculators and contractors, a greedy class, who fattened amid the general want. No heed was paid to the warnings of prudence and patriotism, to the importance of training a militia by stated service in the field, though we were likely to be again buffeted by our old enemy, and lose the fruits of our hard-earned independence. Every one was wearied with the thought of war, and indolently resigned himself to a heedless condition as to the public defences. Each State might continue or abolish them as they chose. They might have the same, or thirteen different systems, or none at all. But already there were mutterings of trouble; and fears were entertained lest the Western posts, still in possession of the British forces, might not be relinquished without a bloody struggle. In March, 1785, such of the seven hundred troops raised under the resolve of June 3, 1784, as were not in actual service, were ordered to

be discharged. The term of service of the whole would expire in June. In April, 1785, after a delay of some days and various motions, it was resolved to raise seven hundred men in the same States, for the term of three years, unless sooner discharged.

General Knox was appointed to the war-department in the spring of 1785; * succeeding his friend General Lincoln, who was the first Secretary of War under the Confederation; the duties of the office having previously been performed by the Board of War.

On assuming the duties of the office, he found much required of him in a change from a state of war to that of peace; and his quick and practised eye, and his long and intimate knowledge and care of the ordnance-department, enabled him to accomplish those changes with effect. "With all my heart and soul," says Lafayette† in his letter to the new Secretary, "I wish you every kind of success, my good friend. The patriot and the soldier are nobly united in your person. God grant your advice may be adopted!" This doubtless has reference in part to the scheme touching the military defences of the country, which it is reasonable to suppose that the Secretary had communicated to his friend, who was not in a situation to realize the obstacles in the Secretary's path, and the growing apathy of the public in all matters touching the military art.

It was a slow and difficult work to raise the very small force, which, at last, Congress was compelled to raise for the defence of the frontiers. But there was hazard not only relating to the frontiers: questions with England remained unsettled; and that nation was considered not unwilling to effect their solution by force of arms; while we were not

* General Washington wrote to him a letter of congratulation on his appointment. "Without a compliment," said he, "I think a better choice could not have been made."

† May 11, 1785.

guiltless, on our part, in failing to comply with the fourth article of the treaty, which required us to remove every obstacle to the recovery of *bonâ-fide* debts.

No doubt, England was desirous of regaining her possessions in America, the loss of which had filled her with deep mortification. A gentleman in London, writing to the Secretary, says, "It is impossible for a person of the smallest degree of observation to be here, and not perceive how ill disposed these people are towards the independence of America; and that, absurd as it may appear, they entertain a secret hope, that one day she will come under the government of this country again. . . . I am led to suppose, that upon any opportunity or prospect of success, such as *a dispute between the States* or a difference with any other power, a minister inclined to break with America would find many advocates, and all the support of his master and his venal Parliament. Indeed, it is not many days ago that he received a letter from one of his ministers, wherein he says, 'America may be yours;' and he points out a scheme to attain it." The writer represents the refugees as very busy in their daily publications in endeavoring to stir up the elements of strife, and imposing upon the English people in their ignorance of this country. A subsequent age has given point to this letter.

Thus stood the country in the waning days of the Confederation. While, in any sudden emergency, an enemy from abroad might do essential harm before an effective rally for our defence, the bad elements within our borders might, as they soon did, gather in formidable array, threatening the subversion of all government, in a leading Commonwealth.

To meet such dangers, the Secretary saw no way but in the establishment of a trained force of citizen soldiers, armed at all points, and brought to a state of exact discipline, at no former day exemplified in the history of the country. The old system, which, for short terms of service, had once and again

commended itself during the war, was worn out, and gave but little promise, in the listless state of the community, of efficient use in the future.

It was questionable, whether the country would submit to that amount of education and requirement in the military art in the citizen soldier which would supply the place of equal exactions of standing troops. But the essay was worthy of being made; and the Secretary of War had the great experience, and breadth of view, required to shape out a permanent and thorough system, that might serve and save the country in the most emergent occasion.

He was soon called upon by Congress "to devise a plan for the general regulation of the militia of the United States, . . . in order to ground thereon a recommendation relative to this subject to the several States." With such a "recommendation," Congress would exhaust all its power. The States might adopt a uniform system, or any two or more, or thirteen different systems, or wholly reject the proposition, according to the sound or imperfect judgment of each ambitious sovereign of the Confederacy.

The Secretary entered into the measure with his whole heart. He had himself been of the active militia before the Revolution, winning a good name as a skilful and energetic soldier; and thereafter, during the war, the practical workings of the system, its defects and possible remedies, must have been ever present to his thought. In the lapse of time, this subject has assumed a magnitude and importance not originally dreamed of by the public at large; and, it may be, beyond the wise forecast of the Secretary himself.

His report, made to Congress March 18, 1786, is entitled "A Plan for the General Arrangement of the Militia of the United States." He discourses at considerable length, and very earnestly, upon the importance of the subject to the welfare of the people; and evidently fears that peace, and the pursuits of wealth, will induce a forgetfulness of the past.

As no final action seems to have been taken upon the plan, either by Congress or any one of the States, and as it was brought up in a slightly modified form in the first Congress under the Constitution, I will introduce it under that period. Very clearly, it was in advance of the sentiment of 1786, and of the spirit of the people; and I do not know whether it was brought up for consideration and recommendation, or how far it met with favorable notice. Perhaps, however, Dr. Ramsay, of South Carolina, at that time a delegate in Congress from South Carolina, embodied public opinion upon the subject in the following letter; viz.:—

“I have perused your plan for the militia with great pleasure. I only fear that our governments are too relaxed to bear any system which will be attended with so much time and expense. It is so well calculated for defence, that foreigners will not dare to molest us; but it is a query with me, whether our youth would not be so fond of a military life as to be tempted to act offensively against our neighbors.* I think it is excellent in theory; but I fear the supineness of our citizens would make its execution impracticable.”†

Of a surety, the country, that in a tone of apology, through a committee of Congress, spoke of it as a matter of propriety “to keep in service about seven hundred men,”‡ was not ready to recommend to the States a system of such large proportions as the one devised by the Secretary. Dr. Ramsay was certainly right in saying that our governments were “too relaxed” to bear such a system, and, at the same time, right in deeming it an entire safeguard against foreign attacks; but the idea that it would tempt “our youth” to become aggressive, seems visionary. The “plan” could not but fail under the circumstances of the time, and the disordered condition of government. Perhaps a future day, and a more orderly and better compacted administration of affairs, would prove more opportune.

* England and Spain.

† Dr. Ramsay to General Knox, N.Y., March 12, 1786.

‡ Journals of Congress, Feb. 3, 1786.

When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the power over the militia was no longer exclusive with the States to do or neglect at their pleasure; but to Congress was given the power, and hence the duty, to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as should be employed in the service of the United States, while they were to be trained by the respective States according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.

This seemed a fit opportunity to place the national defence on a firm foundation, and to make it of the greatest efficiency. General Knox, having been appointed by President Washington the first Secretary of War under the Constitution, addressed himself to the question, how to "devise a national system of defence" adequate to the wants of the country, "whether arising from internal or external causes." It seemed to him that the "plan" that he had carefully matured, and had submitted to the Congress of the Confederation, was, in its entire substance, most suitable to be submitted to the Congress of the Union. Early in the sitting of the first Congress, he presented the "plan" to the President for his approval; it being the same one that he had presented to the Congress of the Confederacy. He had been anxious to prepare a system, of a republican character, that would resist the influences of wealth,—a system in accord with the great principles of liberty, resting on the people themselves, and supported by their habits and manners. The President approved of its general principles; and suggesting some not very material alteration, in part rendered necessary by the adoption of the Constitution,* gave it the sanction of his high authority, and directed him to lay it before Congress.

* By the plan of 1786, the reserved corps was assessed in a certain sum, when the advanced and main corps were called to the field; and the main and reserved corps were required to pay a certain sum annually for the support of the advanced corps in the annual camps of discipline.

In his "Introduction," he takes the ground, "that a well-constituted republic is more favorable to the liberties of society, and its principles give a higher elevation to the human mind, than any other form of government." While this is his postulate, it is conceded that a republic, unless forearmed to meet the exigencies to which all States are exposed, is more precarious than an absolute power: for its measures must be the result of many deliberations; and it cannot at once be placed in an assured posture of defence, unless it has had a previous military organization to that end. Modern governments have been formed by chance, not by system; so that they are braced or relaxed, according as the power of the ruler or the subject gains the ascendancy. No European government of any extent rests upon the people, and exists solely for their benefit. Artificial force predominates everywhere: the many are subject to the few, who are usually too busy in external war, or grappling with internal commotion, or endeavoring to extricate themselves from impending debt, to foster institutions designed to add to the strength, knowledge, and happiness of the many. The present opportunity is invaluable for establishing such institutions as shall invigorate, exalt, and perpetuate the great principle of freedom,—an opportunity pregnant with the fate of millions, but which, when once lost, may never be regained. The United States are in the fortunate condition of being able to commence their career of empire with the accumulated knowledge of all the known societies and governments of the globe.

The strength of the Government will depend on a due adjustment of its several parts: its agriculture, its commerce, its laws, its system of defence, and its manners and habits, all require consideration, and the highest exercise of political wisdom.

It is his intention to suggest the most efficient system of defence which may be compatible with the interest of a free people,—a system which shall not only produce the expected

effect, but which, in its operations, shall also produce those habits and manners which will impart strength and durability to the whole Government.

The modern practice of Europe, with regard to the employment of standing armies, has created a mass of opinion in their favor, so that even philosophers and the advocates for liberty have frequently confessed their use and necessity in certain cases.

But whoever seriously and candidly estimates the power of discipline, and the tendency of military habits, will be constrained to confess, that, whatever may be the efficacy of a standing army in war, it cannot in peace be considered as friendly to the rights of human nature. The recent instance in France cannot with propriety be brought to overturn the general principle built upon the uniform experience of mankind. It may be found, on examining the causes that appear to have influenced the military of France, that, while the springs of power were wound up in the nation to the highest pitch, the discipline of the army was proportionably relaxed.

A small corps of well-disciplined and well-informed artilleryists and engineers, and a legion for the protection of the frontiers and the magazines and arsenals, are all the military establishment which may be required for the present use of the United States; the privates of the corps to be enlisted for a certain period, — after the expiration of which, to return to the mass of citizens.

An energetic national militia is to be regarded as the capital security of a free republic; and not a standing army, forming a distinct class in the community.

Corruption of manners, want of public spirit, effeminacy, indolence, and avarice hail the advent of standing armies. If the United States would avoid them, a well-constituted militia is the only resource, and this in one of two ways: 1st, By educating the entire mass of the young, so that that knowledge may be diffused throughout the whole community; or,

2d, By forming the militia of substitutes, after the manner of Great Britain.

The former will introduce a glorious national spirit, with its extensive train of political consequences. The youth will imbibe a love of their country, reverence and obedience to its laws, courage and elevation of mind, openness and liberality of character, accompanied by a just spirit of honor; in addition to which, their bodies will acquire a robustness greatly conducive to their personal happiness as well as to the defence of the country.

A force thus constituted would be uninjured by events sufficient to overturn a government whose main support was a standing army; . . . rebellions would be prevented, or suppressed with ease; invasions of such a government would be undertaken only by madmen; and the virtues and knowledge of the people would effectually oppose the introduction of tyranny.

The second mode (viz., a militia of substitutes) is pregnant, in a degree, with the mischiefs of a standing army: the substitutes, from time to time, will be nearly the same men, and the most idle and worthless part of the community. Wealthy families, proud of distinctions which riches may confer, will prevent their sons from serving in the militia of substitutes; the plan will fall into contempt, and liberty be deprived of one of its chief securities.

As to the expense of the two systems, whether by rotation or substitution, with equal numbers, the expense would be the same; and the estimate of the expense will show its unimportance, when compared with its benefits. But the people will cheerfully consent to the expenses of a measure of such vast importance to their liberties. The whole community should be educated to a competent knowledge of the military art. This is a fundamental proposition; and this knowledge can only be attained by establishing institutions for the purpose. Every man, of the proper age, and ability of body, is firmly

bound by the social compact to perform *personally* his proportion of military duty for the defence of the State ; and, for this purpose, should be armed, enrolled, and held strictly responsible. Starting thus, he proceeds to unfold—

THE PLAN.

The term of service to extend from eighteen to sixty years of age, and exclusive of such exception as the local legislature may make ; and all actual mariners shall be enrolled for different degrees of military duty, and be divided into three classes.

The first class shall comprehend the youth of eighteen, nineteen, and twenty years of age ; to be denominated the *advanced corps*.

The second class shall include the men from twenty-one to forty-five years of age ; to be denominated the *main corps*.

And the third class, the men from forty-six to sixty years of age ; to be denominated the *reserved corps*.

All the militia of the United States shall assume the form of the *legion*, which shall be the permanent establishment thereof.

A legion shall consist of one hundred and fifty-three commissioned officers, and two thousand eight hundred and eighty non-commissioned officers and privates, formed in the following manner :—

First, THE LEGIONARY STAFF.—One legionary or major general ; two aides-de-camp, of the rank of major, one of whom to be legionary quartermaster ; one inspector, and deputy adjutant-general, of the rank of lieutenant-colonel ; one chaplain.

Second, THE BRIGADE STAFF.—One brigadier-general ; one brigade inspector, to serve as an aide-de-camp.

Third, THE REGIMENTAL STAFF.—One lieutenant-colonel commandant, two majors, one adjutant, one paymaster or agent, one quartermaster.

Fourth, TWO BRIGADES OF INFANTRY. — Each brigade to consist of two regiments; each regiment of eight companies, forming two battalions; each company of a captain, lieutenant, ensign, six sergeants, one drum, one fife, and sixty-four rank and file.

Fifth, TWO COMPANIES OF RIFLEMEN. — Each company to have a captain, lieutenant, ensign, six sergeants, one bugle-horn, one drum, and sixty-four rank and file.

Sixth, A BATTALION OF ARTILLERY, consisting of four companies; each to have a captain, a captain-lieutenant, one lieutenant, six sergeants, twelve artificers, and fifty-two rank and file.

Seventh, A SQUADRON OF CAVALRY, consisting of two troops; each troop to have a captain, two lieutenants, a cornet, six sergeants, one farrier, one saddler, one trumpeter, and sixty-four dragoons.

If any State is insufficient to form a legion, the relative proportions still are to be preserved.

The companies of all the corps shall be divided into *sections* of twelve each; by which division it is proposed to establish one uniform vital principle, which, in peace and war, shall pervade the militia of the United States.

All requisitions for men to form an army, either for State or Federal purposes, shall be furnished by the advanced and main corps by means of sections, to be assessed by the executive or commander-in-chief in each State, according to the proportions directed by the legionary-general. Where the requisition is not made of at least one soldier from each section, he will be furnished by an association of sections or companies. The men are to be taken by draught, unless they volunteer to serve: if by draught, the others are to pay him a sum of money equal to the averaged sum paid in the same legion for volunteer service.

The legionary-general must be responsible to the commander-in-chief of the militia of the State that the men

furnished are according to the description, that they are properly equipped, and that they are marched to the rendezvous as required. Those who are draughted shall not serve more than three years at one time.

The reserved corps, being destined for domestic defence, shall not be obliged to furnish men, excepting in cases of actual invasion or rebellion; and then by means of the sections.

The commissioned officers of the corps shall not be included in the sections, nor in any of its operations.

Every citizen who shall serve his country in the field for the space of one year, either as officer or soldier, shall, if under the age of twenty-one years, be exempted from the service required in the advanced corps. If over twenty-one, then every year of such service in the field shall be estimated as equal to six years' service in the main or reserved corps, unless in case of actual invasion of or rebellion within the State in which he resides. Six years' actual service in the field shall exempt from further demand of service either in the militia or in the field, except in cases of invasion or rebellion.

All actual mariners or seamen shall be registered, and divided into two classes; the first class to consist of those between the ages of sixteen and thirty, inclusive; the second class, of those of the age of thirty-one to forty-five, inclusive: the first class to serve as officer or private mariner, for wages, upon some public armed vessel, or ship-of-war, for three years; but, if not called to serve before he is thirty, he shall be entirely exempt. He shall receive a certificate on parchment, and only be called upon when the services of the entire community are demanded.

The second class is to be called upon for a proportion in those cases to which the first class are unequal. The mariners shall be furnished by sections, as in the land-service.

OF THE ADVANCED CORPS.

They shall be encamped together if practicable, or by legions; which encampment shall be denominated the annual camps of discipline. The youth of eighteen and nineteen years shall be disciplined for thirty days successively in each year; and those of twenty years, for ten days in each year; which shall be the last ten days of the annual encampments,* — the non-commissioned officers and privates receiving no pay during the encampments, but the commissioned officers to receive the pay of the Federal establishment for the time being.

The first day of January shall be the fixed period for all who attain the age of eighteen years in any part or during the course of each year: they are to be sworn to perform personally the required service for three years; also to take the oath of allegiance to the State and to the United States.

The commanding officer or general shall regulate the service, whether in infantry, artillery, or cavalry; after which, no change shall be allowed.

Each individual, on joining, shall receive complete arms and accoutrements; to be returned, under penalty, at his discharge, to the regimental quartermaster. The arms and accoutrements to be marked "M.U.S.," and any sales or purchases of them to be severely punished according to law.

Each man is to receive certain specified clothing, for which he is to be held accountable; and to replace deficiencies during service. The cavalry to be at the expense of their own horses, helmets, and horse-furniture; but to receive forage, swords, pistols, and clothing.

At twenty-one, every individual who has served his term

* In the plan of 1786, the term of service in camp for the youth of the advanced corps was forty-two days a year for three years. No reason is assigned for the change. It is presumed that six weeks annually is the least time that ought to be appropriated by the youth to the acquisition of the military art.

shall receive an honorary certificate on parchment, signed by the legionary-general and inspector. The name is to be fairly registered in a book provided for that purpose.

And the said certificate, or an attested copy of the register, shall be required as an indispensable qualification for exercising any of the rights of a free citizen, until after the age of — years.*

The advanced legions, in all cases of invasion or rebellion, shall, on requisition of lawful authority, march to any place within the United States, and remain embodied, not exceeding a year, to be computed¹ from the time of marching from the regimental parades; and, while in service, to be in pay and all furnishings similar to Federal troops. If the service is short, and not requiring an issue of clothing, an allowance in proportion to the cost of clothing for the Federal soldier is to be made.

If they march under a requisition from the General Government, it is to be at the Government's expense; and at the expense of the State, if by the authority and for the purposes of the State.

When the advanced corps is completed, it will receive one-third part, and discharge one-third part, of its numbers annually. By this arrangement, two-thirds of the corps will, at all times, be considerably disciplined. But, as it will receive only those of eighteen years, it will not be completed until the third year after its institution. Those who have already attained the ages of nineteen and twenty years, will, in the first instance, be enrolled in the main corps.

The officers of each grade shall be divided into three classes; one of which shall be deranged every third year. In the first period of nine years, one-third part will have to

* By the plan of 1786, those who had not served the required term were considered unworthy of public trust or public honors, and were wholly excluded therefrom, without any limitation.

serve three, one-third part six, and one-third part nine years ; but, after the first period, the several classes will serve nine years : all vacancies by derangements or casualties to be immediately filled by new appointments.

The captains and subalterns of the advanced guard shall not be less than twenty-one, nor more than thirty-five, and the field-officers shall not exceed forty-five years of age.

Each company, battalion, and regiment shall have a fixed parade ; and, when embodied, they will march to the rendezvous of the legion.

Each legion must have a chaplain of respectable talents and character, who, besides his religious functions, should impress on the minds of the youth at stated periods, in concise discourses, the eminent advantages of free governments on the happiness of society ; and that such governments can only be supported by the knowledge, spirit, and virtuous conduct of the youth,—to be illustrated by the most conspicuous examples of history.

No amusements should be admitted in camp but those which correspond with war,—the swimming of men and horses, running, wrestling, and such other exercises as shall render the body flexible and vigorous.

The camps should, if possible, be formed near a river, and remote from large cities. The first is necessary for the practice of the manœuvres ; the second, to avoid temptations to vicious indulgence.

The time of the annual encampments shall be divided into set parts, or periods, — the *first* of which shall be occupied in acquiring the air, attitudes, and first principles of a soldier ; the *second*, in learning the manual exercise, and to march individually and in small squads ; the *third* and *fourth*, in exercising and manœuvring in detail and by battalions and regiments. In the *fifth*, the youth of twenty, having been disciplined during the two preceding encampments, are to be included. This period is to be employed in the exercise and

tactics of the legion; or, if more than one, in executing the grand manœuvres of the whole body; marching, attacking, and defending, in various forms, different grounds and positions; in fine, in representing all the real images of war, excepting the effusion of blood.

Each State is to select for itself the season for the annual encampment best suited to the health of the men.

The United States will supply the arms, clothing, rations, artillery, ammunition, forage, straw, tents, camp-equipage, including every requisite for the annual camps of discipline; and also for the pay and subsistence of the legionary officers, and for the following general staff; viz., one inspector-general, one adjutant-general, one quartermaster-general, with a deputy for each State.

The quartermaster-general shall be responsible to the United States for the public property delivered to him for the annual camps of discipline, and his deputy in each State to him.

The deputy-quartermaster to make regular issues of the stores provided by the United States at the commencement of the annual camps of discipline; the returns to be certified by the highest legionary or regimental officer: all the public property to be returned to the State at the end of the camp, to be examined, repaired, and deposited in a magazine to be provided for that purpose in each State.

Corporal punishment is forbidden in these encampments; but, instead thereof, a system of fines and imprisonment shall be substituted.

OF THE MAIN CORPS.

The main legions, consisting of the great majority of the men of the military age, will form the principal defence of the country. They are to form their proportion of an army, whenever required; and, on every sudden occasion to which the advanced corps shall be incompetent, an adequate number

of non-commissioned officers and privates shall be added thereto from the main corps by means of the sections.

The main corps will be perfectly armed in the first instance, and will practise the exercise and manœuvres four days in each year; and will assemble in their respective districts by companies, battalions, regiments, or legions. In populous places, the regiment must assemble once annually, and the legion once in three years.

When the youth are transferred from the advanced corps, they shall join the flank companies, the cavalry or artillery of the main corps, according to the nature of their former services.

OF THE RESERVED CORPS.

The reserved corps will assemble only twice annually, for the inspection of arms by companies, &c. It will assemble by legions whenever the defence of the State may render it necessary.

Such are the propositions of the plan; to which it may be necessary to add some explanations.

It is a substantial political maxim which requires personal service of all the members of the community for the defence of the State, and is the main pillar of a free government. Yet public convenience may require certain exceptions; as principal magistrates, the clergy and judges, &c. But no measures of national importance should be frustrated for the accommodation of individuals.

The military age has generally commenced at sixteen, and terminated at sixty; but the youth of sixteen are not of sufficiently robust strength to endure the hardships of the field, without injury.

The advanced corps, and annual camps of discipline, are introduced to create an efficient military spirit in the community, and a course of honorable service, which, at the same time, will mould the minds of the young men to a due obedi-

ence to the laws, instruct them in the art of war, and, by the manly exercises of the field, form a race of hardy citizens equal to the dignified task of defending their country.

Only by a course of discipline during nonage can an adequate knowledge of the art of war be attained. The necessary time cannot be afforded at any other period, with so little injury to public or private interests.

The yeomanry in the country, and those of various employments in the towns, are usually apprenticed from fourteen to twenty-one. The master usually receives a large profit, besides being repaid for the trouble of tuition.

This is the time for the State to avail itself of those services which it has a right to demand, and by which it is to be preserved. The passions and affections are then strongly influenced by the splendor of military parade, which will never be lost. The young man will repair with pride and pleasure to the field of exercise; while the head of a family, anxious for its general welfare, . . . will reluctantly quit his domestic duties for any length of time.

The discipline of the encampments will rather strengthen than relax habits of industry, as the youth will be constantly occupied in various military duties. Idleness and dissipation will be regarded as disgraceful, and punished accordingly. The public claims for military service will be too inconsiderable to injure their industry.

As it is proposed that a military education shall be an indispensable qualification of a free citizen, they will not be entitled to any pay: but the officers, being of the main corps, are supposed to have passed through the course of discipline required by the law, and competent to instruct; and therefore should receive compensation while on active duty.

The main corps is instituted to preserve and circulate throughout the community the military discipline acquired in the advanced corps, to arm the people, and fix firmly by practice and habit those forms and maxims which are essential to the life and energy of a free government.

The reserved corps is instituted to provide for home defence, and to enable a greater proportion of the younger and more robust to take the field in case of war.

He estimates the proportion of men of military age, between eighteen and sixty years of age, at four hundred thousand; and deducting seventy-five thousand mariners, Quakers, and State exempts, he places the effective force of the country at three hundred and twenty-five thousand as the available force of the militia. This was on the basis of three millions of whites; and was an under-estimate of the population, as the census of 1790 shows. But this gave a force demonstrating the growing power of the country.

The Secretary enters into a careful estimate of the expense of the advanced guard, say thirty thousand men, in the annual camps of discipline, on each of the first three years, the details of which it is not necessary to give, but making the entire expense of the advanced guard of thirty thousand men \$384,440.

"Thus," says the Secretary, "for a sum less than four hundred thousand dollars annually, which, apportioned on three millions of people, would be little more than *one-eighth of a dollar* each, an energetic republican militia may be durably established, the invaluable principles of liberty secured and perpetuated, and a dignified national fabric erected on the solid foundation of public virtue." As his estimates were made from the largest experience through the war of the Revolution, and his additional experience of several years under the Confederation, they are entitled to great consideration and reliance.

He further says, that "the combination of troops of various descriptions into one body, so as to invest it with the highest and greatest number of powers in every possible situation, has long been a subject of discussion, and difference of opinion; but no other form appears so well to have sustained the criterion of time and severe examination as the Roman legion.

This formidable organization, accommodated to the purposes of modern war, still retains its original energy and superiority. Of the ancients, Polybius and Vegetius have described and given the highest encomiums of the legion. The former, particularly in his comparative view of the advantages and disadvantages of the Macedonian and Roman arms and their respective orders of battles, has left to mankind an instructive and important legacy. Of the moderns, the illustrious Maréchal Saxe has modelled the legion for the use of firearms, and strenuously urges its adoption in preference to any other form; and the respectable and intelligent veteran (Steuben), late inspector-general of the armies of the United States, recommends the adoption of the legion. 'Upon a review,' says he, 'of all the military of Europe, there does not appear to be a single form which could be safely adopted by the United States. They are unexceptionably different from each other; and, like all other human institutions, seem to have started as much out of accident as design. The local situation of the country, the spirit of the government, the character of the nation, and, in many instances, the character of the prince, have all had their influence in settling the foundation and discipline of their respective troops, and render it impossible that we should take either as a model. The legion alone has not been adopted by any; and yet I am confident in asserting, that whether it be examined as applicable to all countries, or as it may immediately apply to the existing or probable necessities of this, it will be found strikingly superior to any other.'

"First, being a complete and little army of itself, it is ready to begin its operations on the shortest notice or slightest alarm; second, having all the component parts of the largest army of any possible description, it is prepared to meet every species of war that may present itself; and third, as in every case of detachment, the first constitutional principle will be preserved, and the embarrassments of draughting

and detail, which, in armies differently framed, too often distract the commanding officer, will be avoided.

“ . . . In forming a legion, the most difficult task is to determine the necessary proportion of each species of soldiers which is to compose it. This must obviously depend upon what will be the theatre and what the style of the war. On the plains of Poland, whole brigades of cavalry would be necessary against every enemy ; but in the forest, and among the hills of America, a single regiment would be more than sufficient against any ; and as there are but two kinds of war to which we are much exposed (*viz.*, an attack from the sea-side by a European power, aided by our sworn enemies settled on our extreme left, and an invasion of our back settlements by an Indian enemy), it follows, of course, that musketeers and light-infantry should make the greatest part of your army. This was the opinion of the old veteran.

“The institution of the section,” continues the Secretary, “is intended to interest the patriotism and pride of every individual in the militia, . . . to render every man active in the public cause, by introducing the spirit of emulation and a degree of personal responsibility.”

He objects to the common mode of recruiting, as injurious to public morals, and filling the army with unprincipled men but too frequently. “Such men either desert in time of danger ; or are ever ready, on the slightest disgust, to turn their arms against their country.”

“By the establishment of the sections, an ample and permanent source is opened” for the defence of the State “in every exigence. Their previous discipline will enable them to rally at once to the summons of their country, without wasting whole years in preparing to face the enemy.”

. . . “The annual encampments . . . will be an excellent preparation for war.” Now is the time to establish among ourselves the manufacture of artillery, arms, ammunition, and all else belonging to a state of war ; for it would be unworthy

of a free people to depend upon a foreign, perhaps accidental supply. The same remark applies equally to the clothing for the troops.

The protection of the commerce of the United States demands a navy, which might easily be furnished with experienced men, trained on board merchant-ships, whose discipline very nearly resembles that of the public armed ships, while the discipline of the soldier is a work of much time and labor.

All that would seem necessary would be to keep a careful register of all actual seamen of the required ages, when wanted for service.

"The wisdom of the States will be manifested by inducing those citizens, of whom the late American army was composed, to accept of appointments in the militia. The high degree of military knowledge which they possess was acquired at too great a price, and is too precious, to be buried in oblivion: it ought to be cherished, and rendered permanently beneficial to the community."

This "plan" will be of no worth unless the laws are adequate and are rigidly enforced. If wealth should be permitted to purchase an exemption from personal service, the plan would have no value. If society has its charms, it has its indispensable obligations; and to "exonerate the members of the community from all personal service, is to render them incapable of the exercise, and unworthy of the characters of free men."

The State has a right to the personal service of its members, and the right to regulate them. "All being bound, none can complain of injustice on being obliged to perform his equal proportion. Therefore it ought to be a permanent rule, that those who in youth decline, or refuse to subject themselves to, the course of military education established by the laws, should be considered as unworthy of public trust or public honors, and be excluded therefrom accordingly."

He concludes by saying, "If the majesty of the laws should be preserved inviolate in this respect, the operations of the proposed plan would foster a glorious public spirit, infuse the principles of energy and stability into the body politic, and give a high degree of political splendor to the national character."*

After the plan was matured by the Secretary, and just before it was produced to the public, Rev. Dr. Mason † of New York, who, I suppose, had been in communication with him, wrote to the Secretary, and expressed his opinion, entertained for several years, that no plan for the militia would be effectual "which did not include the training of boys between the ninth and eighteenth years of their age;" and that, after a certain time, no schoolmaster should be allowed to keep school, who was not competent "to instruct his male pupils, with great exactness, in the rudiments of military art." He would place the master under a penal bond to devote a half-hour each day for the purpose; and, after leaving school, the parent or master should be compelled to provide for their attending some training-master, appointed by authority, as often as deemed proper, until the nineteenth year of their age. This he submits to the General's consideration, and thinks that it "would in a short time produce a nation of soldiers, make all the parts of the plan more easy and successful, save immense expense." A military academy also deserves attention. The General‡ thought the Doctor's idea of an early military education a solid one, but that the habits of life of our people were such as to incapacitate them from any

* This resembles, in some measure, the *landwehr*, or national militia, of Prussia, where every citizen is by law a soldier, and liable to serve for a certain time in the regular army; after which, he enters the militia. The members of the younger class are required to drill during a few weeks in each year, and those of the second class act as a home guard in case of a foreign invasion. These latter are called by the expressive name of *landsturm* (land-storm).

† Jan. 27, 1790.

‡ Feb. 10, 1790.

establishment but those to be purchased with money. The subject of military education he has had under consideration.

He sought the opinion of his excellent and trusty friend General Lincoln, which he knew would be sound and weighty.* "Tell me sincerely, my dear friend," said he: "is the project of the militia, herewith enclosed, a Utopian plan? If I am not acting under a delusion, as sure as we exist as a republic, we must have a strong institution of the sort, or we shall have a standing army, which I should exceedingly dislike, unless I commanded it; for I am forcibly impressed with the opinion, that, under the influence of a standing army, the glory of our country would pass away like snow before a summer sun."

"I have,"† says General Lincoln in answer, "attentively read over and over again your proposed system for regulating the militia of the United States. I am now *sincerely* to give you *my opinion* on the subject. I think it has in it great merit, and it will at once evince your close application and strength of mind; and that, if cordially embraced, it would make ours the strongest militia in the world. The people will not, however, adopt it here, if I know Massachusetts. The expense, pay of officers (no pay of men), the burthen on masters, calling the youth indiscriminately disfranchised for a time, in certain cases, officers excluded from actual service, subjection to a draught for a service of three years, &c., will be magnified here, and damn the bill."

Major Shaw,‡ aide to the General during the Revolution, hopes that the plan will be received by the country in such a manner as to fully compensate him for the time and trouble it has cost him.

A gentleman § in Boston, who had paid some considerable attention to military matters, says, "Your plan, I think, is a masterly system for the national defence."

* Jan. 31, 1790.

† Feb. 12, 1790.

‡ Feb. 9, 1790.

§ Feb. 20, 1790.

The learned Vanderkemp,* who had sought an asylum in this country two years before, and who, with his family, had been welcomed by General Knox on his arrival, and had received the hospitality of the General's house, entered heartily into the "plan;" but thought, as a necessary accompaniment, there should be a military academy, which he would have established at the seat of Government, to instruct selected youths of the advanced corps in military science and its cognate branches. He closes with wishing "that all of the General's endeavors for the benefit of this blessed country may be crowned with success."

29th March, 1790, General Miranda also commends it "as the best form we can adopt." In a subsequent letter from London, he adds, "General Melvill, and some other professional men here that have considered the same subject, admired your plan very much; and I perfectly agree with you, that the form of the Roman legion is infinitely superior to any other organization or military arrangement we know yet."

Feb. 21, 1790. — "Your plan for the militia," writes General Jackson from Boston, "is not very well received here; although every one speaks highly of it, . . . and confesses that it is a masterly performance, and discovers great genius and knowledge in military arrangements."

These various testimonies in favor of the "plan" are gathered from the broken remains of the Secretary's correspondence, and show the high appreciation of his efforts to constitute a national defence both safe and salutary. The Constitution of the United States having been adopted, the power over the militia was no longer exclusive with the States to do or neglect at their pleasure: but it became the imperative duty of Congress to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such

* March 12, 1790.

part of them as should be employed in the service of the United States; while they were to be trained by the respective States according to the discipline prescribed by Congress. There was no room for neglect on their part in devising an effectual protection for the country in every time of trouble.

However excellent any plan may have been in theory and probable practical efficiency, Congress was not then in a mood to adopt it: for party wrangles, though then far from being at the height which they afterwards attained, were beginning to show themselves, to the injury of public measures; and no disposition existed to handle this question with thoroughness. "I know," said a member of the House, "it is the policy of the day to make the militia odious; but I hope such policy will not be adopted by this House."*

The Secretary's plan was referred to the Committee of the Whole House. It was a radical and complete change in the militia system that was proposed and struck out by the plan; requiring large comprehension of the permanent wants of the country, a grasp equal to that which originated it, and a boldness and daring to meet it, and overcome the cavils of timidity, the alarmists of expense and of novelty, and the sluggishness of those who would postpone to a future day whatever was not required to meet an immediate or early occasion. The Committee of the Whole was soon discharged from the consideration of the grave subject; and it was referred to the Committee on National Defence, where it could be carefully considered, matured, and shaped and modified, should the country not be prepared for this great measure or an equivalent. Mr. Boudinot, from that Committee, reported a bill in December, 1790. But still Congress was not ready at once to decide upon a matter of such pith and moment. How could it best be provided, and

* Dec. 22, 1790. — *Gales and Seaton's Debates*, p. 1869.

be made an efficient system, regarding the safety of the State and individual rights, had all to be wisely considered, and a growing public sentiment, adverse to a stringent system, to be met and overcome. Debate was frequent, and ran much into detail, and delays intervened; and few seemed to comprehend the great want in its entire breadth: so that nothing effectual could be obtained to make a nation of citizen-soldiers thoroughly trained for military duty. A service of four days in a year was thought by many oppressive: indeed, an effort was made to reduce the whole service of the militia-men to one day in each year.

It was not until May, 1792, that the various views of the country were brought into some good degree of harmony, and that a law was passed which became the basis of all State legislation on the subject; though, subsequently, alterations were proposed "for a select corps of militia to be enrolled, to be officered by the State."* The law of 1792 seems unhappily to have settled the policy of the United States as one not of service, but of service *or* its equivalent; a sum of money, of small amount, from each individual, of whatever condition, purchasing an entire exemption from military service. Thus the system has operated, in some measure, like the English system of substitutes, before mentioned; and thus the system of equivalents finally issued in breaking down the national militia, without providing any thing adequate in its place. A system of equivalents like this — if, indeed, any system of equivalents could — will never insure a nation of soldiers. General Knox had early conceived, and, without question or doubt even, continued to entertain, the principle, as he expressed it in the plan, that every man of the proper age, and ability of body, is firmly bound to perform *personally* his proportion of military duty for the defence of the State. Conceive of the various advan-

* March 24, 1794.

tages to be derived from personal service. "A glorious national spirit," says General Knox, warming with his subject, "will be introduced, with its extensive train of political consequences. The youth will imbibe a love of their country, reverence and obedience to its laws, courage and elevation of mind, openness and liberality of character, accompanied by a just spirit of honor; in addition to which, their bodies will acquire a robustness greatly conducive to their personal happiness as well as the defence of their country." Personal service, and nothing but personal service, through all future time, can answer the great end. All short of this will be sure to degenerate. With this he wisely couples a provision in relation to the elective franchise; viz., that a certificate of service in the advanced corps, signed by the legionary general and inspector, "shall be required as an indispensable qualification for exercising any of the rights of a free citizen until after the age of — years."

This proposed plan may not be perfect. It had the approbation of wise and thoughtful men; and it had the approval of President Washington, who had long known the views of General Knox, and no doubt had often discussed with him its general principles. There may be some defects in detail; some modifications that might have been brought out on further comparison, reflection, and discussion. If it seemed too exacting in some respects, what, after all, was it to the immense results to be obtained? and how trifling the amount of service to be rendered for the good of the whole! Here would have been an ever-ready, disciplined force, drawn from the body of the community, to be put into the field, whether against a foreign or domestic foe.

Our young men would have developed more vigorous and manly forms of beauty; the pursuits of trade, the intense greed of gain, might have been somewhat modified by another interest intervening in the forming period of life; while the era of club-life, with its concomitants, the age of poodles,

shows, shams, and conventionalism, of the hollow and false, of late and mercenary marriage, marking the declining day of the Republic, would have been spared. The real life we have begun to lead, inaugurated in 1861, is a standing protest against much in the past that we can no longer regard with complacency.

Personal service, from which there could be no escape, and, as a correlative, the enjoyment of the elective franchise, had these great principles been profoundly apprehended in their full extent, and have entered into the life of the nation, in this or some like plan, at least of proportions as large as this, once and again proposed by Henry Knox, we should have had, at the outset of this most foul and stupendous Rebellion, a potential force to meet and crush the treason when it first raised its guilty head,—if, indeed, Rebellion itself had been possible.

The Rebellion which pervaded the western parts of the State of Pennsylvania, and had its adherents in other parts of that Commonwealth and in other States, proved too strong for the local magistracy: the judiciary was set at naught, and the officers of Government were obliged to flee for their lives. These were, in Washington's language, "the first ripe fruits of the Democratic societies" which grew out of the French Revolution. This formidable Rebellion having finally been suppressed through the intervention of the militia called in from the neighboring States, it seemed now a fitting time to again call the attention of Congress to the militia, and point out the defects in the laws upon that subject.

The letter and report of General Knox upon the difficulties and inconveniences which had occurred in the execution of that act were referred to a committee to report upon them. Among other things, the militia were required to arm and equip themselves at their own expense: but there was no penalty to enforce the injunction; nor could the requisite

number of arms be obtained in any reasonable period. He estimated the militia between the ages of eighteen and forty-five at about four hundred and fifty thousand; of whom perhaps a hundred thousand were armed. The condition of Europe at this juncture prevented the supplies needed; and the only solid recourse was to extend manufactures in the several States. Merely to arm the militia lately called (*viz.*, fifteen thousand), ten thousand arms have been issued from the public arsenals. Nor was there any adequate provision for securing the obedience of the militia to the call of the United-States Executive. The law should contain within itself all the necessary provisions for its own execution.

After stating the various imperfections of the system, and probably having abandoned the expectation of any heed to his long-cherished idea, he submitted it to the consideration of Congress, whether it were better to amend the existing law, or to make provision for a select corps on the principle of rotation, or otherwise.

Thus, from the end of the Revolution to the close of his official term, he had continued to labor diligently for an effective citizen-soldiery: but neither the uncertain state of the times, — clouds in the Eastern and Western horizons, — nor a wise and projecting view into the future, was sufficient to overcome the apathy and torpor that had settled upon the mind of the country; and, though more than two years had passed since the enactment of 1792, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Georgia were the only States which had made returns of their respective militia, as required by law.

Washington had urged, and, in his department, General Knox had urged, upon Congress the vast importance of turning the military knowledge which had been acquired at costly sacrifice in the war of the Revolution to good purpose, for the service of the country, in the discipline of the soldier in time of peace, ere time and death should be too busy

among the array of officers, and the opportunity be for ever lost; but it met with no adequate response.

After the war of 1812, the militia fell into gradual and general decay. It was kept alive in some of the States, but in part only, by small, organized corps, more or less disciplined; but the very fact of their existence led them to be considered as a substitute for the entire large body, and the sole dependence on any occasion calling for a military power. The soldier was getting to be thought out of place in our busy, peaceful community; even to the extent of being considered, as one eminent divine expressed it, "the last harlequin that has come down to us from the middle ages." "Strange as it may be," says General Sumner, writing to the elder President Adams in 1823, "sentiments are openly propagated, respecting the militia, which no man who valued his popularity would have dared to express even five years ago."* Many can remember the fast-ebbing tide at that day, and the general disregard, culminating in sentiments like that of the divine I have just mentioned. The hereditary regard for the institution had well-nigh become a matter of the past; and perhaps many, too, might be obliged to say, if pressed, that they are not guiltless of having entertained the lowest possible estimate of the militia of the country. The present Rebellion is calling public attention to the subject in the most searching manner; nor will it rest till this great arm of national defence, this preventive and cure, regain its rightful position. "These American States," said John Adams to General Sumner, "have owed their existence to the militia for more than two hundred years. Neither

* This letter is one of great length, and contains many valuable suggestions. General Sumner was an enthusiast in the matter of the militia, especially that of Massachusetts, in which he had been versed through a series of years; and fully believed what had been said of it, that "its spirit and drill were as much superior to that of most other parts of the country as the value of its specie currency was above their unredeemed bills."

schools nor colleges nor town-meetings have been more essential to the formation and character of the nation than the militia. . . . Improve its constitution by every prudent means; but never destroy its universality. A select militia will soon become a standing army or a corps of Manchester cavalry. . . . Whenever the militia comes to an end, or is despised or neglected, I shall consider the Union dissolved, and the liberties of North America lost for ever." Without subscribing to his notion of danger from a select militia, he is wholly right in looking to "its universality" as our great safeguard.

Every patriot must hope that the day of "its universality," its universal organization, will re-appear; and that soon provision will be made for personal service, in connection with the elective franchise, resembling, in those important particulars, the plan of Knox, in whatever other particulars they may vary from it. For if the old system is restored, and failure to perform military duty is to be commuted by a fine, there will be the same unvarying round of neglect; and, after the excitement of the present day subsides, the old process of decay will soon follow.

In Massachusetts, at the last session of the Legislature, the Governor, with wise forecast, called the attention of the House and Senate to the importance of a military education, both in the militia and in the earlier training of the seminaries of learning; and favored the establishment of a school within the State, under the charge of military professors. Congress, it was hoped, would adopt a plan for the nation, requiring all men within certain ages to perform military duty. It was not done; but the proposition, it may be, is gaining favor in state and nation, ready to be put into some tangible shape during the present winter.

Mr. WATERSTON presented, from Mr. Thomas Groom, an original stamp, issued under the Stamp Act.

The same gentleman also presented, from Mr. William C. Nell, the standard, noticed in the record of the August meeting, which was presented by Governor Hancock to the company of colored soldiers called "the Bucks of America."

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Nell and Mr. Groom for their donations to the cabinet.

Mr. DEANE made the following communication : —

The Light shed upon Cotton Mather's "Magnalia" by his Diary.

Turning over the leaves, a few years since, of the then recently recovered portion of Cotton Mather's manuscript diary, I noticed some references to his most celebrated work, the "Magnalia Christi Americana," and was curious to see if that singular record would shed any light upon the preparation of that equally singular book. My search, which was extended through the whole of the diary in the possession of the Society, was rewarded, though not to the extent that I had hoped. I have copied the passages referred to; and with your leave, Mr. President, will read them, or a portion of them, to the meeting.

I will premise by saying, that whatever opinion we may entertain of Cotton Mather, or whatever estimate we may place upon his "Magnalia" as a work of history, the book will always be regarded as an object of interest to readers of early New-England literature; and copies of the first edition, particularly the large paper copies, — of which this Society has one, — will continue to be more and more sought for by bibliographers as time rolls on: indeed, they command a very high price in the market at the present time. And, in an historical point of view, I do not hesitate to say, that we

cannot afford to part with the "Magnalia." It contains an amount of material relating to the early settlement of New England which we find nowhere else; unless for a portion of it, indeed, we may search in those earlier publications of Mather, subsequently incorporated into his great work. We are indebted to the "Magnalia" for the preservation of that most admirable letter (or a fragment of it) of Governor Winthrop to his son, afterwards Governor of Connecticut, which the learned editor of Winthrop's Journal, out of the fulness of his love for Governor Winthrop and whatever relates to him and his family, says he considers "the most valuable part of the 'Magnalia'" (Winthrop, i. 64).

We learn from this diary when Mather began his "Magnalia," when he completed it, when he packed it up to be sent to London to be published, his anxieties concerning it while upon the water, and his prayers that it might be ushered into the world under favorable auspices, and be the means of great good to the cause of "evangelical truth."

An error was very early promulgated as to the time when Mather commenced this work. The eccentric John Dunton, of London, who spent eight months in Boston and its neighborhood in 1686, in the account of his visit, in his book styled the "Life and Errors of John Dunton," &c., published in the year 1705, — three years after the "Magnalia" was published, — says, "The Rev. Cotton Mather was then upon finishing his 'Magnalia Christi Americana,' which has lately been published here in England." I had for some time supposed this to be one of Dunton's "errors." It was no doubt an afterthought of his: it may have been a conjecture. The "Magnalia" had become a famous book, and its author or compiler a famous man, when Dunton published his "Life and Errors;" and he perhaps thought he was not hitting very wide of the mark to put into his book, that this celebrated work was in progress while he was here. He says, "Mather was then upon finishing" it. The statement seemed improbable, for the reason

that Mather was at that time but *twenty-three* years of age; too young, by far, with the duties which for two years had been pressing upon him, to warrant the belief that any considerable progress could have been made in a work of this magnitude. Besides, the statement is inconsistent with the "General Introduction" to the "*Magnalia*," in which the author says that little more "than two years had rolled away" (he probably should have said *three*) since he began it. The Introduction bears no date: but the inference was a fair one, that it was written about the time that Higginson's "*Attestation*" was written, which bears date "25th of the first month, 1697;" i.e., 25th of March.* Mather probably intended at this time to bring his work to a close; but he continued to add to it for a year or two to come. Events are there related as late as Jan. 14, 1698-9.

In the summer of 1693, Cotton Mather writes in his diary:—

"And because I foresaw an inexpressible deal of service like to be thereby done for the *church of God* [alluding to the preceding part of the record], not only *here* but abroad in *Europe*, especially at the approaching *Reformation*, I formed a design to endeavor *THE CHURCH HISTORY of the Country*. Laying my design before the neighboring ministers, they encouraged it; and accordingly I set myself to cry mightily unto the Lord, that, if my *undertaking* herein might be for his glory, he would grant me his countenance and assistance in it."†

"[However, I did not actually begin the work till the latter end of the year.]"

The 20th of August, 1697, he "set apart for the exercises of a secret thanksgiving before the Lord."

"But one special article of my thanksgivings this day was, the singular favor of the Lord unto me in upholding and assisting of me to

* It now appears from his diary, that the Introduction was written as early as August, 1697; at least, the extract from it there given appears under date of Aug. 20 of that year.

† In printing these extracts, the abbreviated words of the MS. are given at length, and the orthography made to conform to modern usage.

finish my 'Church History.' And now, because it will more particularly express the favor of Heaven unto me in this matter, I will, in this place, transcribe a few lines in my Introduction to that history."*

More than four pages of his diary are taken up with this quotation. Under date 27th of November following, he writes:—

"I did, at the close of the day, prostrate on my study-floor, joyfully receive these assurances from Heaven;" among which was, "That there are good news coming to me from England, and such particularly as will give me encouragement about the future publication of my 'Church History.'"

A few leaves further on, he writes,—

"On 7d. 11m. [January 1697–8], arrives to me a book in folio, this year published in London, which professes itself to be a collection of *Remarkable Providences*. I find myself often quoted in this book,—yea, very often; and very large paragraphs from several books of mine transcribed into it. And I find the names and lives of nonconformists therein much magnified, though the book be written by a conformist. This gives me a very encouraging prospect that the publication of my 'Church History' may now be seasonable. And the restoration of peace makes a more easy passage for it into Europe. Yea, to my surprise, I find an advertisement of it at the end of the book which thus arrived unto me. Behold the faith, which irradiated me the last November, answered!"

On the 12th January, he records,—

"I set apart this day for the exercise of a secret fast before the Lord. One special design of my supplications was to obtain the direction of Heaven about my 'Church History,' the time and way of my sending it into Europe, and the methods of its publication. I think I am assured that my supplications are heard in this matter."

* In 1695, Cotton Mather published a small 12mo book, entitled "Johannes in Eremo," &c.; being Memoirs of Cotton, Norton, Wilson, and Davenport,—four Johns. The book also embraced a Memoir of Thomas Hooker. In this book (the most of which was afterwards incorporated into his great work), Mather published a sort of prospectus of his "Magnalia," or "Church History of New England," as he called it. He gave what he called "A Scheme of the Whole Work."

On the 4th of March, 1697-8, he makes the following entry:—

“In the close of the day, as I lay prostrate on my study-floor, in the dust, before the Lord, the *Spirit* and the *Angel* of the Lord came nigh unto me, and, so as I cannot utter, assured me, *that I shall serve my Lord Jesus Christ yet exceedingly*; and more particularly, that I am quickly to do a *special service* of great consequence for the name of my Lord Jesus Christ, which, as yet, I know not what it is.

“And putting those two composures, my ‘Church History’ and my ‘Confirmed Christian,’ into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, it was told me from heaven that they shall be carried safe to England, and there employed for the service of my glorious Lord.”

The 8th day of June, 1700, he set apart for prayer with fasting in his study,—

“Especially on two occasions. First, I this day put up my ‘Church History,’ and pen down directions about the publishing of it. It is a work of near three hundred sheets, and has lain by me divers years, for want of a fit opportunity to send it. A gentleman just now sailing for England undertakes the care of it; and by his hand I send it for London. O my Lord Jesus Christ, let thy good angels accompany it.”

The 6th of July was set apart for fasting and prayer.

“And on this day, besides the other matters of prayer, I had this to insist upon: That my ‘Church History,’ now upon the waters, may be preserved, prospered, accepted, and serviceable among the churches of the Lord.”

On the 20th of July, he again committed into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ his “Church History.”

A few days after, the same blessing was again craved on his “‘Church History,’ gone to England.”

On the 5th of October, he says,—

“Moreover, the concern of my ‘Church History,’ that it may be *published and accepted* among the churches of the Lord, and that I may not be so exceeding *unhappy* as to lose the vast pains I have taken in composing it, lies at this time very much upon my heart. I

carry this concern unto the Lord with my daily cries ; and on this day I particularly do so. I implore that my work may be *sprinkled with the blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that so the Lord may make use of it for the advantage of His evangelical interests, which I have therein consulted, through his assistance, with a great variety of exquisite and curious contrivance. I submit unto the *just and wise* will of Heaven, if the Lord will make no use of these my poor labors among his people ; for He knows what will do *most good*, and I am not worthy to do *any good*. My distressed mind keeps in *agonies* before the Lord, pleading abundance of things before him, with the exercise of such graces as are proper on this occasion. This I do, until I think, at last, it is told me from heaven, that my 'Church History' shall be made serviceable unto the churches of the Lord."

On the 12th of December, he records that he received —

"Letters from England, full of encouragement concerning the hopeful circumstances of my 'Church History.'"

The 10th of May, 1701, he set apart "for the duties of a secret fast," and —

"Was not without some comfortable tokens of the Lord's presence," "especially when I was committing into his hands my 'Church History,' now in London."

A memorandum, under date of 6th June, says, —

"The Lord supports and comforts my faith about my 'Church History.'"

And on the 13th of June, he records :* —

"This day, I received letters from London, which give me still to see that *faith* is no *fancy*. My 'Church History' is a bulky thing of above two hundred and fifty sheets. The impression will cost about six hundred pounds. The booksellers in London are cold about it. The proposals for *subscriptions* are of an uncertain and a tedious event.

"But behold what my friend *Mr. Bromfield* writes me from London, March 28, 1701. There is one *Mr. Robert Hackshaw*, a very

* The passage given under this date was printed by Mr. Peabody in his Memoir of Cotton Mather, in Sparks's American Biography.

serious and godly man, who proposes to print the ‘Ecclesiastical History of New England,’ which you intrusted me withal. He is willing to print it at his own charge, and give you as many books (I believe) as you desire. When he proposed it to me, I told him, ‘*Sir, God has answered Mr. Mather’s prayers.*’ He declared he did it not with any expectation of gain to himself, but for the glory of God, and that he might be a means to midwife so good a work into the world; and, did you know him so well as I do, you would believe him.”

On the 27th of September of this year, he writes:—

“And this day I obtained from the Lord great persuasions and assurances of his blessing upon my ‘Church History’ (the publication whereof has been unhappily clogged by some dispositions of the gentleman to whom I first sent it).”

The 3d of October of this year, he set apart for a secret thanksgiving; among other things, for—

“The Lord’s carrying over my ‘Church History’ safely into England, after he had helped me to compose that, and many other works which he has accepted, and ordered to be published, and given hope for the publication of that also.”

The 25th of the same month was set apart for fasting and prayer for many occasions:—

“But one upon which I particularly insisted in my supplications was to ask for a blessing of God upon my ‘Church History,’ now in London; and I think the Lord favored me with the consolations of a *particular faith* for the blessing which I desired of him.”

On the 6th of December of this year, he records:—

“I enjoyed something of the Divine presence with me this day; and this especially, when I did, in a prayer peculiarly for that purpose, address the Lord for his blessing on my ‘Church History,’ my faith used a great variety of argument in pleading with the Lord, that the ‘History,’ which He has helped me to write of his glorious works in these American churches, might not be lost, but be preserved and published and prospered, and find acceptance among His people. It will be so! I have prevailed! I have prevailed!”

The 20th of the same month he records as a day of prayer, —

"Especially to obtain a blessing on my 'Church History.'"

On the 17th of January, 1701-2, he says, —

"And the Lord raises my faith concerning my 'Church History' to a considerable elevation and satisfaction."

On the 31st, he "was again before the Lord: " —

"When I was this day carrying my 'Church History' before the Lord, confessing the *sins* of it, and all my *other sins*, by which I have rendered myself worthy, that *it* and I too should be a *castaway*; but, applying to the *blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ for the pardon of all my sins (which blood being sprinkled on my poor work, the destroyer shall not come at it), I received a wonderful *assurance* from heaven, that the Lord will accept this work, and that his *providence* will wonderfully appear in and for the publication of it. My *assurance* cast me into floods of tears; and I resolved that I would be wholly for the Lord, who has thus *heard the voice of my supplications*."

During the 12th month (February), 1701-2, he says, —

"All that I have here to add is, that, when I am committing my 'Church History' (which great work runs great hazards of miscarrying) into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, I receive wonderful assurances (I think I know) from heaven, that the Lord will accept it, and preserve it, and publish it, and that it shall not be lost. An heavenly *afflatus* causes me sometimes to fall into tears of joy, assured that the Lord has heard my supplications about this matter. And now, its having been thus long delayed, and obstructed and clogged, proves but an opportunity for that prayer and faith, and for those experiences, which, if I had gone without, the publication of that book would not have proved near so sweet a mercy to me.

But if it should miscarry after all, O my God, my God! what confusion would ensue upon me!"

Under date of "4d. 1m.," March, he records: —

"I thought it proper to set apart this day for prayer with fasting, in my study, before the Lord. I had many occasions to do so. One occasion was this: The Lord hitherto keeps me ignorant what becomes

of my 'Church History;' a point of extraordinary concernment unto me. We are now expecting ships from London; and I desire, in a way of the most solemn humiliation, to be preparing for what advice may be coming unto me. I keep submitting and resigning this weighty matter unto the Lord, and consenting unto so humbling a trial as the loss of my 'Church History,' if the Lord shall order me to be tried with so severe an exercise. But, behold, the Lord from heaven assures me, that my 'Church History' shall not be lost."

Under date of 4th of next month, April, 1702, he records:—

"I was in much distress upon my spirit concerning my 'Church History,' and some other elaborate composures, that I have sent unto London; about the progress towards the publication whereof the Lord still keeps me in the dark. To have those composures, with all my labors and prayers about them, lost, would be a terrible trial to me. But I thought it my duty to prepare for such a trial. Wherefore I set apart a *vigil* this night peculiarly for that service.

"Accordingly, in the dead of the night, I first sang some agreeable *psalms*; and then, casting myself prostrate into the dust, on my study-floor, before the Lord, I confessed unto him the sins for which he might justly reject me and all my services; and I promised unto him, that if He would reject those particular services, which I have been laboring to do for His name, in my 'Church History,' and some other composures now in England, though my calamity therein would be very sensible, yet I would with His help submit patiently unto His holy will therein; and I would not be discouraged thereby at all from further endeavors to serve my Lord Jesus Christ, but I would love him still, and seek him still, and serve him still, and never be weary of doing so, but essay to serve him in other ways, if he would not accept of these. Thus did I resign unto the Lord; who thereupon answered me, that He was my Father, and that He took delight in me, and that He would smile upon my endeavors to serve Him, and that my 'Church History' should be accepted and prospered."

The eleventh day of the same month was also set apart for prayer and fasting, and the *vigils* renewed.

"In some of these my mind is irradiated with celestial and angelical influences, assuring of me that my 'Church History' shall not be lost,

but shall come abroad, and be made serviceable unto the evangelical interests, and be of great use in that great work of cleansing the temple for which the Lord will speedily pour out a Spirit upon his people from on high.

"In one of my *vigils*, when I sang the 131st psalm, that passage exceedingly affected me, — 'My soul is even as a weaned child: let Israel hope in the Lord from henceforth.' I had been *wrestling* with the Lord for the good success of my 'Church History.' In the midst of this my *wrestling*, I was become *as a weaned child*; even resigning the whole matter unto the ordering of the Lord, and resolving to be satisfied with whatever He shall order. But it was now powerfully set home upon my mind, that I might now *hope in the Lord from henceforth* to see a good issue of the matter."

Under date of 1st of May following, he says, —

"My 'Church History' has been in extreme hazard of miscarrying. The delay given by the nice humors of my friend in whose hands it was left unto the kind offers and motions of the gentleman that would have published it a year ago, exposed it unto the hazard of never being published at all. God continued the opportunities and inclinations of that gentleman to go on with the undertaking. When they began to fail, God stirred up a very eminent bookseller to come in with obliging tenders of his assistances. Letters to advise me of this were dated as long ago as the 20th of last *November*. One ship arrives from London after another; and still I am strangely kept in the dark. I have no satisfaction in any of them. *God will have my prayer and faith employed unto the uttermost!* At last, on this day, after so long a delay, comes in the ship that had these letters; which also tell me, that they hoped the work would be finished by the month of *March*, which is now past. But, still, prayer and faith must be kept at work for the good circumstances of it."

On the 9th of the same month, he records that he was —

"Not without some irradiations from Heaven; especially in this point, that happy tidings were coming to me from England."

His diary, for some time after this, is much taken up with entries suggested by the illness and death of his wife; but, on the 30th of October (1702) following the above, he says, —

"Yesterday I first saw my 'Church History' since the publication of it. A gentleman arrived here from Newcastle in England, that had bought it there. Wherefore I set apart this day for solemn THANKSGIVING unto God for his watchful and gracious providence over that work, and for the harvest of so many prayers and cares and tears and resignations as I had employed upon it. My religious friend, Mr. *Bromfield*, who had been singularly helpful to the publication of that great book (of twenty shillings price at London), came to me at the close of the day, to join with me in some of my praises to God."

JANUARY MEETING. — 1863.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, Jan. 8, at twelve o'clock, m.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the Essex Institute; the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society; the Redwood Library; Mrs. Elijah Allen; Professor A. D. Bache; H. I. Bowditch, M.D.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; General J. Watts De Peyster; Hon. John P. Hale; Hon. Joseph M. Wightman; Nathaniel Willis, Esq.; and from Messrs. Green, Livermore, Lothrop, Robbins (C.), Savage, Webb, Willard, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President presented, from Miss E. M. Judkins, a brush, labelled "Allston's Blender," with which the great painter was accustomed to blend his colors. This brush was given to Miss Judkins by Mrs. Allston, in 1849.